1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba



band will send a whale's tooth for her to return and her relatives will make a feast to send her back with; this feast is called the conveyance (*i kaukau*). 593

A woman becomes of the clan of her husband. Only women are transferred; men stay. In practice a woman works with her husband's clan, but upon being asked to what clan she belongs, she will name that in which she was born. On her husband's death a woman returns to her original clan. Sometimes a man goes to live in his wife's country. It is then said that "she brought him over." 614

The wife goes to the home of her parents to give birth to her children, and usually remains with them for a year or longer after a child is born. During this time she may not resume cohabitation with her husband. It is said that a Fijian woman will die if she is pregnant three times, each time before the previous child is strong. A Fijian widow whose wife has died in childbirth is looked upon askance. If a woman contracts the abdominal disease called *ndrami ni tangane* which is caused by the husband cohabiting too soon after childbirth, and if she dies in consequence people will dissuade girls from marrying him. 844 753

## Birth Ceremonial

A first child, called a new child (*ngone vou*) is the occasion for much more ceremony than attends the birth of subsequent children. There is no feast when conception first appears, but the mother stays in the house, for a number of months given variously as three, four, five, six, or eight; she does not cut her hair or bathe. She is taken care of during her pregnancy lest the foetus move and miscarry. This is done for the eldest child only. After eight months her people make an oven on the shore and she goes to fish. A feast called the bathing of the pregnant mother (*i silisili ni mbukete*) is prepared, at which the fish she catches are roasted and served, called *i tatavu*. The people of Levuka called this feast "causing to appear" (*vakavotu*). The prospective mother then cuts her hair and throws it away, after which she may resume hard work. 843

A pregnant woman may not anoint another person's eyes with medicine as it causes soreness of the eyes. 753

Except for the child of the High Chief a man may be present at the birth, but usually only the father is. It is forbidden to announce the approach of travail in the village or the labor will be difficult. The after-birth is buried. The newborn child is bathed. The child is not again bathed until the fourth day. 844

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The first child, boy or girl, of the High Chief is treated with state. Women come from Tumbou, Levuka, the country, to hold it by turns in their arms, not allowing it to touch the ground for ten days. They may not sleep in the house where the child is, they may not wash. The chief pays them with feasts and gifts. Leading noblemen come in. Every day a feast is made. On the tenth day the child's grandmothers, who have stayed in the house, go to bathe in the sea, which they do by going to fish. The child is bathed in a bowl or a bucket of fresh water, but they call it bathing in the sea.[20] A feast is made for its bathing.

## SICKNESS AND MEDICINE

### The Cure, the Diagnosis

Prevention of disease is almost unknown in Lau and it is difficult to make the natives take precautions against infection. It is known that some diseases spread (*ndewa*), but the persons infected are not avoided. Lepers are isolated by law, but are visited by their relatives and friends. In fact, one wise woman thinks that there is more leprosy now because lepers are isolated. Epidemics are called *mate taka.*

Sick persons are much downcast and lie helpless with a blanket over their faces, hardly answering when spoken to. Even taking into consideration that the commonest illnesses are fevers, which have depressing effect, Lauans do not stand up to illness. They also appear to judge a disease by its feeling. As soon as the depressing effect is over, the patient throws off his blanket, sits up, and goes about before he has recovered, hence attacks of fever last longer than necessary.

If a man is ill away from home, his people immediately take him home. The kinsfolk visit the patient. They sit and talk together, and at night have kava, often until late. If the patient be better, he sits up to receive the visitors.

The great number of names of diseases at first sight suggests a precise and highly developed diagnosis. For instance, some of the diseases of the abdomen are called: *ramberambe tu i kete, wangganggа i kete, ngata lua, oso, mbera a mbete, mbati yate, mbondra;* some kinds of "octopus." But an informant explains:

> They are all in the belly, but the names differ; it all depends on what is good for them (*kena yanga*); if a man is ill in the belly, they send for all those who know the names of diseases; they try one, then another; they come and touch (*vamotha*) the patient. If they touch the patient and he gets relief, they bring some medicine. It is our hand that is effective."

[20] Wailevu means great water. In Lau it is the sea, but in Viti Levu it refers to a river. The migration of the custom may explain the anomaly.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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chewing octopus (***kuita ngguru moya***) (only a name, it is not seen); coir octopus (***kuita mangimangi***); witchcraft octopus (***kuita i ndro***). First one remedy, then another is tried. Some octopus diseases devour the belly; if a mother has pains in the abdomen after child-birth it is octopus; the leech comes, massages her, the patient finds relief, then a remedy is sought. One boy got night octopus (***kuita mbongi***) which hurts in the morning and leaves off in the evening. He said he had eaten an octopus some time before, and shortly after the pain began. Remedy: four sticks of ***kulukulu***, also called *mámakove*, scraped on a reticulum, wrap the scrapings up, and squeeze them into a cup, the patient drinks part and is rubbed with the rest. Tapu: octopus.

One remedy for brain-munching octopus is called ***wiriwiri*** or ***vitiviri***, a term connected with the witchcraft. The method I saw was as follows: The patient was lying down. Sitting at the patient's head the leech pressed eight leaves of *waro* on the right ear, then squeezed them into the nose (*ndangi*); keeping the hand against one side of the face, he massaged (*mbombo*) alternately the opposite side of the face with the root of the other hand, the fingers on the nose. Then he pressed the temples. If effective, it is repeated four times: *waro* leaves are used on the first and second days; eight lemon leaves on the third and fourth days. The lemon leaves are chewed, spat into a leaf of Tahitian chestnut, rolled up in it and pinned with a bit of reed; they are pressed into the ears and nose and sniffed in. If the treatment is not effective after three applications, the steaming treatment described on page 163 is tried. Tapu: octopus and noise.

One kind of octopus affects the eyes and makes them squint. The head has neuralgia (*? sasala*) which goes down to the eyes and injures them. It is called octopus because the octopus is neuralgic (?). The remedy is: Take a number of leaves of pig's hoof (*i taukuku ni puaka*); wrap them up in a leaf of ***kura***, warm on embers which should not be stirred into a flame; add oil, cover the patient and steam him. Given twice a day, morning and evening, for four days; after which the patient bathes. Tapu: salt food, raw food.

*Kuita tambaki-ndua*, one-sided octopus.—Take four leaves of *lawere*, chew, then put into the reticulum, four leaves of banyan . . . .; chew likewise and put into same reticulum. If it is the left side that pains, pick with the left hand; after picking throw the hand four times behind the back, then chew; if his right side pains, then pluck with the right hand, and then chew afterwards and put into the reticulum. Tapu: salt water, taro, red things, coconuts, bathing in the sea.

Organic diseases.—Certain diseases are known as *mbatha ngathangatha*, diseases of the viscera. One old man discussing consumption, which is rampant in Lau, thinks organic diseases are common in Lau because it is a sweet-toothed country, eating much pudding; it is otherwise in the West. Consumption is a new disease and the natives know about it only what Europeans have told them.

*Ramberambe tu i kete* (kicking situated in the belly).—A serious disease; it has many ways of attack, usually arising at the top of the thigh, moving to the belly; one arises in the throat and then goes on to the belly; one arises in the center of the belly and extends to the pit of the stomach. One man says it is the same as belly ache (*mosi ni kete*). It is treated with remedies for the belly; if one fails, another is tried. Remedy: Five leaves of *mborete* and six of *senitoa;* strain and pound, then drink. An ointment of chewed *losilosi* leaves, smeared on the hand, and so massage; lotion: leaves of *matiyavi* to be used on the belly. Tapu: *matu* fish and *saivula* banana.

Ruptures (*ramusu*).—The term rupture covers a wide range since Lauans see a break wherever there is a sprain, or a mere strain or stiffness. In a case of stiffness or pain in the hip the leech explained that it was not the bone but the *ua* that was affected. The term *ua* includes tendons, muscles, and blood vessels.

Remedies: (a) A hereditary treatment of deep massage with hands oiled. No tapu. (b) From the Moala notebook: one *ndenimana* to be broken into . . . parts each exactly 3 spans long; break two twigs of greenheart of India into two parts, each 1 span, 3 inches long; a mangrove root, one which is young and does not reach the water: break off the tip and break the remainder into two parts of 1 span, 3

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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When the placenta, or "seat of the child" as it is called, appears the midwife anoints her hand with oil, rubs the membrane and finally detaches it carefully. A person who does not know pulls and tears it, and if the membrane is torn the mother dies. The umbilical cord is bandaged and cut off with scissors; formerly it was not bandaged and a bamboo knife was used. 844

The following cure is used if a woman bears a child and her belly aches: 843 757

First, the leech uses a test medicine consisting of an infusion made with four leaves of *vativati* which is given to drink and used to rub the belly. The prohibitions connected with it are sweet food and sea water. The patient is eased, then has tremendous pains, then feels easy again. The leech is then informed that the patient is better and supplies the substance of the cure: one stem of *wavula*, and two shoots of reeds, one tuber of *vativati*, four leaves of *vativati* made into an infusion and drunk. This is repeated four days after which the patient bathes.

The length of the confinement depends on the time of baptism; the mother lies in till then, it may be for months. She is covered with a blanket. Her diet consists of taro stems because it is soft food. The mother eats three or four times a day and twice at night to make the milk abundant. She may not eat pig or sweet food for one or two months till the child is strong lest the mother contract *ndrami*. She may not eat food from the sea for four days, or drink coconut for some time. 843

Treatment for travail (*wai ni taratara*): 844

Many leaves of *ale*, and some of *se ni toa* and lemon leaves; when the woman is in travail pound them together, strain them in the usual way and give it her to drink. The *Hibiscus* is used because its juice is viscous, in order that the child may slip. If parturition is hard they continue giving medicine. If these medicines fail, after two nights recourse is made to a spirit-expelling Tahitian medicine (*wai vakataiti*).

## Possession.

755 757 A very popular class of remedies is that called *taiti* remedies. They are known to have been introduced by the Tahitian missionaries, hence the [171] name. They are now used to expel spirits, though one wise woman says this is not the right meaning. "The cause of *taiti*," says Poasa, "is the souls of the dead or the ancestor spirits." If a spirit hits a man so that [828] he does not know his soul, he is *taiti*. Sometimes before he is in sight, the patient declares the leech is coming, and refuses to have him, saying "the place smells bad," referring to the medicine; he struggles. When the leech arrives, the patient tries to escape. As he is held down, he calls out the names of great grandparents, or forefathers, or Tutumatua, or the Wind Women. I witnessed a case of this nature: A boy was seized with pains in [753] the stomach and was delirious; a spirit was said to be eating him. The boy recognized only one man; and complained the spirit had pinched him. A pupil of Ratu, the Levuka man who leads the "Children of Water" came

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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and touched him and he ceased crying. He recovered, but a few days later he got treated in Levuka by Ratu, although he was quite well at the time.

First he had to get some kava to give to Ratu "to beg with." Ratu deputed a Viti Levu man to give the treatment:

> Three leaves each of mango, *kura*, breadfruit, folded tightly and given to the patient who chews them, then spits the leaves into his hand and returns them to the leech. The patient lies down and the leech rubs the pit of the stomach with the leaves. When the patient has had the medicine he utters the name of the spirit who has possessed him. The boy in question said it was Koroiravotu, a soul of the dead, a Levuka man who lived in the old village and whom he had never seen.
>
> The bathing consists in using leaves of *uthi* after four days, that the disease may depart. If this does not take effect, another medicine is administered, followed by another bathing four days later.

Ratu also treated a man from Lomaloma who had pains and swellings in the neck and ear which he said were due to a spirit hitting him. He had a relapse which was due to his eating tapu food about which the leech had forgotten to caution him.

From a Kambara born Tongan another remedy was obtained for *taiti*:

> One nettle (*salato*), pinch off a whole stem, place in a cup; stir it with a stick without water; smear with it the body of a man whom the spirit is devouring.

From the Moala notebook:

> (a) Pick four or eight leaves of bitter *sinu*, and four twigs; break these into equal sizes to use as pestle, then place the leaves in a cup and pour water on them. If they sink the patient will die; if they float he will recover.
>
> (b) True *taiti*: *kovekoveliku* and white nettle. For rubbing use the nettle called *salato ni longa uto* and oranges. Tapu: raw food and all things in the house. For bathing: four stones, *suthi* and *waro*.
>
> (c) Tahitian remedy: *mulomulo* and *vombo*, scraped and rolled with "nettle of the breadfruit grove," placed in the middle; put in the reticulum and strain. Ointment: *yanggoyanggona* leaf, roll up without warning, and stroke with it. Lotin: *kovekovelikv*, pull off eight top shoots, break into equal lengths, then chew and wrap in a piece of bark cloth to strain. Tapu: kava and orange. For bathing: *uthi* and *waro*, four stones.
>
> (d) *Taiti*: Scrape the white part of two roots of screwpine; scrape ironwood; heat together, and give to drink. For steaming, use four leaves of *uthi*, *waro*, and two each of *ndilo* and *seisei*; heat four stones. For bathing use these same leaves. Tapu: to remove things from the house. From Totoya: take off the bark of *molau*, and scrape the core, strain in a cup and drink. Tapu: food from the sea and sweet food. Steaming: heat four stones, press *kura* leaves. The patient is steamed with these so that the body sweats and the disease goes away. No tapu.

## The Children of Water

There are cures which are known as cures of the Children of Water, elves which are the *kalou* of the remedy. The following account is given by a Lauan, who says he received the cure from a native of Viti Levu:

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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643 then when Ndranivia usurped he seized the state-basket in which were the treasures of the land.

The title Sau occurs in the expression *sautu*, peace, prosperity.

## MEDICINE

753 171 The group of diseases called by names of animals are the most transparent. The same diseases, octopus and snake, are found in Eddystone, Solomon Islands; there the animal is a spirit that abides in the person and causes the trouble. In Samoa if a man ate the incarnation of his own particular god, that god "was supposed to avenge the insult by taking up his abode in that person's body and causing to generate there the very thing he had eaten" (15, p. 17).

753 262 In Lau, the octopus disease may be contracted by eating octopus, and the patient is not allowed to eat octopus. However the Lauans may deny it then, it can be confidently asserted that the food tapu to a patient is called "the spirit of the cure," because the spirit which causes and cures the disease abides in it, and therefore it may not be eaten. Samoa has preserved the theory; Lau has lost it.

757 754 177 In Lau, most cures exist apart from the art of producing them; but it was held that those who knew how to cure the effects of witchcraft also knew how to kill. That reverts to a state of things found in Eddystone of the Solomon Islands, where every cure is part of a system consisting of: (a) charm to produce the disease in whomever steals the fruit of a tree; (b) removal of that charm; (c) cure of the disease. It appears to have been much the same of old in Lau, since Semi says that then they had charms in every grove of coconut palms. But whereas in Lau the charms were buried, in Eddystone they are hung on trees or sticks, as was done in Tonga.

## TRIBAL ANIMAL

776 Thekena, Waitambu, and Vakano call their children rats. Thekena and Waitambu say it is because of the jealousy of the Two Ladies who will not allow any but their own children to be called children; but the Vakano people are nearer the truth when they say it is by reason of their rat-god. It would seem then as if these people formerly identified themselves with their god.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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If the child is born dead the body is kept near the mother
for three or four nights. It would be harmful to the mother to 845
take it way sooner. She would grieve and become ill with a
sickness characterized by fainting, body pains, and sleeplessness. Still births are buried in the village cemetery above a [766]
previous burial from the same clan. If both mother and child
die they are wrapped in one funeral bundle and buried in
one grave. Formerly the natives believed that their souls went [775]
to Nai Thimbathimba, the jumping off place for the souls of
the departed.

As a rule the father does not see the child before it is "on the 846
mat". He usually bathes and puts on a clean *lavalava* before
entering the house. The child is presented to him by his
mother or by his wife's mother. He breathes upon him
through his nose, the only native method of kissing, holds him
for a moment, and returns him without a word.

For several months after the child is born the father sleeps 846
in the men's house of his clan or in his father's house. 834
Formerly he slept in another house until the child was weaned,
and some men observe this custom today. Intercourse with
his wife is tabu until the child is weaned, lest the child get a [753]
sickness called *ndambe* (pronounced en-dam'-bē), or the
mother become pregnant. A man who breaks the tabu is
called "expert at causing *ndambe*". A child with this illness
cannot walk, but crawls on all fours with feet flat on the
ground. If a woman becomes pregnant while she is nursing,
people blame her husband because her milk will become "bad"
and harm the suckling child. The tabu against intercourse is
occasionally broken today, but apparently not often, for
practically all children in any one family are at least 18
months apart. The husband is supposed to be continent [837]
during this period, but he usually has clandestine affairs with
women who do not stand in the tabu relationship to him.

The child is named on the day of birth by the father's 553
mother after a member, usually an ancestor, of the clan. If 851
the parents are very fond of a child they give him several

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accompanied by her mother or another near relative. The 852
group of relatives who sleep in her house go fishing to secure
sea food for a small feast for which the father provides the
garden produce. On this day the midwife, if she is not a close
relative, is presented with barkcloth or mats. The barkcloth
in which the newborn infant has been wrapped is removed for
the first time and the child is given a steam bath in the house.
No men are allowed to be present. Leaves of a certain plant
(called *varo*) are placed in a special oblong wooden bowl. A
hot stone is put on the leaves and the infant is held over
the steam. When the leaves cease to give forth steam the
child is washed in water. This bath is to clean and heal the
navel.

On Fulanga the feces of the infant during the first few 854
months are wrapped in barkcloth and kept in a basket hung
on the wall of the house. The natives say they are still a part
of the child and discarding them would injure him. If the [753]
basket of excrement is removed too soon the child will have
diarrhoea. For the first child the basket must be kept longer
than for subsequent children. After 100 days the father
throws the first child's basket over the reef into the sea, and
frequently marks the spot with a tabu stick. Nobody may fish
there until after the ceremony which celebrates the child's first
birthday. The father does not need to erect a tabu stick, but
if he does so he is obliged to give a big feast when the tabu is [554]
lifted. The feast adds to his prestige, as well as that of the
child and of his clan. The excrement basket for a subsequent
offspring need be kept only until the child shows that he is
gaining strength. It is discarded in the sea without a tabu
and no ceremony is held on the child's first birthday.

On all the islands a feast is held when the first child is one 852
year old. If the parents' and child's clan are prominent, this 431
is a large feast, marked by the ceremonial exchange of mats, 602
barkcloth and other property between the father's and the

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576 643 784 When the native code of etiquette deals with the sacredness of chieftainship it is upheld by the tabu system. The tabu system serves to protect the sacred "mana" of the ancestor gods and their direct descendants, the chiefs. High Lauan chiefs are still surrounded by strict tabus which regulate their contact with the world to the minutest detail. For instance, in the presence of the high chief, even today, no native of lower rank is allowed to stand erect. If possible, a person sits crosslegged, bowed, and silent at some distance from him. If it is necessary to walk, a person bends almost to a right angle and backs out of the chief's presence.

576 784 753 Infringement of the sacred tabus was formerly punished by death. Illness is believed automatically to follow the breaking of less sacred tabus. We have seen that a nursing mother is not allowed to have sexual intercourse, because if she does her child will be unable to walk upright. If a pregnant woman [842] or her husband eats fish which has been cut in small pieces the body of the new born infant will be afflicted with sores.

576 784 671 648 The native code of etiquette and the tabu system still cover many of the judicial needs of the Lauans. Although a break of the sacred tabus is no longer punished by death, the tabu system is still upheld to some extent, and public opinion is as strong as ever. The native tabu system, however, does not encompass the new moral code introduced by the missionaries and upheld by the government, nor is it effective as a sanction for government regulations. Although some of these innovations, especially those connected with Christianity, have become a part of the accepted code of behavior and hence are backed by public opinion, there are many which have not been so wholeheartedly endorsed by the group. To cover the needs of the new political regime a new system of law and its enforcement has been devised by the government. It supplements the native code and deals chiefly with maladjustments which arise from the introduction of new regulations.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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## CHAPTER VI

# SORCERY AND SCIENCE

### 539 THE WITCH DOCTOR AT WORK

*Ko ra kala-iya-vongei,*
*Ka ulia na sivaro,*
*Ma sa nggai koto ra vuaka*
*Iri mbula, ra mbula,*
*Iri mate, ra mate,*
*Iri vakasanggalenggalo—*
*A iri mbula, ra mbula,*
*A iri mate, ra mate.*

Oh, Sir Rat,
Stir the pudding.
Sir Pig is down.
Fan of life, Sir Life,
Fan of death, Sir Death.
The sinking fan—
Oh, fan of life, Sir Life,
Oh, fan of death, Sir Death.

*Ancient spear dance from Kambara.*

759 ON THE ISLAND of Kambara, situated fifty miles by sailing canoe from the nearest native medical practitioner at Lakemba, and 200 miles from the nearest European doctor and hospital at Levuka, the natives are still dependent upon their own methods for treating the sick.

753 759 The Kambarans believe that illness and death have various superhuman causes such as the possession of the body by an evil spirit, the loss of the "good soul", black magic, the infraction of a tabu, or the smell of a dead body. Every doctor, male or female, is a specialist in one or more of these types of illness and uses his own secret medicines which he has acquired by inheritance from a relative, by a dream from an ancestor, or by a guardian spirit through the "Water Baby" cult. A doctor holds an important position in the community, and medicine is used by many as a means of increasing social prestige.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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A sick person usually goes first to a diagnostician, who makes an examination by tapping the body and inserting a finger into the mouth, anus, or vagina. The diagnostician tells the patient which specialist knows medicines to treat his particular type of malady.

According to the native ideology, mental illness (called *lialia*) is caused by an evil spirit which has gained possession of the body and mind. The patient shows symptoms of mental disturbance and accompanying physical disability. He loses touch with reality and becomes absorbed in the spirit world. The natives say that such cases are most common among young, unmarried people, but are found among natives of all ages.

Men are usually possessed by twin evil spirits called the "windwomen" (*lewa matangi*). The names of the "windwomen" on Namuka are "Good Desire" and "Bad Desire". Their abode is the uninhabited isle of Marambo, and it is dangerous for men to go there lest they become possessed. The "windwomen" disturb a man in sleep by assuming the forms of alluring young women, usually a particular woman whom the man desires. She offers him tempting food, but if he eats this food he will sicken and perhaps die. Just as the "eating together" ceremony is symbolical of consummation in marriage, the eating of this food is apparently symbolical of sexual union and the man believes he has connection with the woman. Occasionally a patient believes he has become pregnant by such a spirit and his belly and breasts begin to swell. When this happens the natives say the man will die in a short time if he is not cured.

The cure of a case of spirit possession is accomplished by a method curiously similar to that used in psychoanalysis. The Lauan theory is that the doctor must draw a confession of the name of the spirit from the patient in order to release the spirit from his body. The doctor sees the patient every day, tries to allay his fears, encourages him, talks to him

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755 about the spirit, gives him potions of herbs to drink, and
753 rubs his body with medicines. Finally in the course of the treatment, when the doctor touches the part of the body in which the spirit dwells, the patient will cry out. The doctor presses the affected part until it hurts and asks "Who is it?" and in great distress the patient calls the name of the spirit. Immediately the spirit leaves him and he begins to recover.

The cure, however, is not always permanent. While we were on Kambara, Suma of Undu became ill. He lost his memory and his power of thought. He wandered about the village staring into space. He could not eat, sleep or work, and he had to be watched lest he cut or burn himself. People were afraid that he might set fire to a house or commit suicide. He was tortured by dreams of evil spirits who took him fishing or into the bush. Finally he went for treatment to Kama, the best witch doctor on Kambara, and lived in Kama's house for about two months.

755 The doctor gave him a medicine (called *wai ni taitchi*) twice
278 a day. To make this medicine, equal quantities of bark shav-
753 ings from several trees[53] are placed in a small medicine bag, made of coconut reticulum tied with a strip of pandanus, and steeped in a cup of cold water. The bag is squeezed and removed. The infusion is drunk and the bag is rubbed over the body. After the fourth day the doctor gave him another medicine (called *wai ni thavuyalo*) internally and externally twice a day for two weeks. The purpose of this dose was to clear the mind. During this time the patient began to eat again but he continued to be troubled by a spirit which brought him food in his dreams. The doctor gave him a medicine (called *kanaimbulu*) to stop the dreams and prevent the food from poisoning the man.[54] The infusion was drunk three times a day. As the patient's condition improved he was

[824]

[53] i.e., *vesivesiwai* (*Pongamia pinnata*), *kura* (*Morinda citrifolia*), *uthi* (*Evodia hortensis*), *vevendu* (*Scaevola*) and lemon.

[54] To make *kanaimbulu*, place a few Tahitian chestnut leaves in a medicine bag and steep the bag in a cup of water.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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given a purge (called *pala*), before eating.[55] To increase the patient's strength and weight he was given a fattening medicine (called *pala fatafata*)[56] before meals and other medicines.[57]

Only one type of medicine was given a day. The doctor spent much time talking with the patient and trying to soothe him. Every day he gave him a massage, starting with the eyes and moving over the head and body. Finally, one day during this massage when the doctor pressed the patient's genitals the patient cried out: "The windwomen!" As soon as he confessed, the evil spirits which had been lodging in his genitals flew away and the patient began to recover. His progress was rapid and in a week or two he was ready to return to Undu.

The purification ceremony, which marks the recovery of a patient after treatment by a doctor, was held in Kama's house. Suma bathed in the sea for the first time since he had been under the doctor's care, and his near male relatives presented mats, barkcloth, oil, and kava root to the doctor in payment for his services.

The patient returned to Undu apparently cured, but after a few weeks the symptoms began to recur. He grew steadily worse, but did not return to the doctor. One night he called a few of his male relatives and confessed that he had stolen money from the mission church on Kambara. He died shortly afterwards.

Another case of spirit possession treated by Kama was that of Noka of Tokalau. The patient was about forty years old at the time. He dreamed that the "windwomen" brought

[55] The purge was made from the bark of the *tatangia* (*Acacia laurifolia*) plant, shaved into a medicine bag and steeped in water.

[56] The fattening medicine was made of equal quantities of the bark of the *kavika* (*Eugenia malaccensis*) and the *weleanggio* (*Torenna sambucian*) plants prepared in the same fashion.

[57] The patient was also given medicine called *wai ni thange*, made of the roots of the pandanus tree and the Tahitian chestnut shaved and steeped; and also medicine (called *awanga*) made of the bark of the *vuandromo* and *yaka* (? *Pueraria thunbergiana*) trees prepared in the same way.

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755 him food such as pork and sweet pudding which he ate. He
753 was treated according to the method described above and the spirits were discovered in his eyes. They flew away and he recovered.

[776] Women are usually possessed by an evil spirit called Tutumatua. He is really an old man with elephantiasis of the leg, but frequently he assumes the form of an attractive young man in order to win a woman he desires.

[824] A giant taro plant (called *via,* probably *Alocasia indica*) grew just outside the door of my house in Tokalau. The
[751] natives said that this had been planted to keep out Tutumatua, who had been troubling the young woman formerly living in the house. When Tutumatua, bent on mischief, would start to enter the house, the giant knobby tuber would remind him of his hideous swollen leg and he would be so ashamed that he would pass by. I can vouch for the effectiveness of this measure, at least during the length of my occupancy.[58]

753 The missionary, Williams, recounts a similar case of spirit possession. He writes: "A heathen woman complained of being subject to the solicitations of some god, who was always standing near to entice her to him. Her husband appealed to me to drive away the god or his wife's delusion. The Rev. John Hunt was staying with me at the time and we went together to the dwelling of the woman, he armed with a large dose of Epsom salts, and I with a bottle of spirits of hartshorn. On our arrival we found the house filled with people, and the woman on her back in the midst, shouting lustily, 'Let me alone, that I may return!' The excitement was very great, but the shouting was considerably checked by the sudden application of hartshorn to her nose. When a light was brought we discovered that our patient was by no means a Venus, which led Mr. Hunt to observe, with dry gravity, 'Truly she is a beauty: what a fancy the god must have who can desire

[171] [58] Both Tutumatua and the "windwomen" are found under various names widespread in Polynesia and other parts of the Pacific.

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her!' A burst of laughter from the spectators, in which the husband outlaughed the whole, followed this remark. The treatment was most successful. The woman's pride was so strong that she at once sat up, assuring us that the god had gone away, and that she needed no more medicine."[59]

A patient on the verge of death can be restored to health if his soul, which has wandered away from his body, can be captured by a specialist in soul-catching, and returned to his body. Once Sienga of Lomatchi, a young unmarried woman, was very ill. Kama, the doctor, gave her medicine (called *wai ni thavuyalo*) but she grew worse. Then the doctor decided to try to catch her soul. He cut the tender new shoot from the center of a banana tree in the garden land. He took the shoot to the bush, unfolded it slightly, stood it on the ground and let it fall. Then he picked it up and set out in the direction toward which the shoot had fallen. Suddenly the doctor saw the girl's soul which he said looked just like the girl, seated and leaning against a tree. Since she faced him he knew she could be captured. If the soul had been facing the tree he would have known that he could not capture her and the patient would die. Standing in front of the soul, he pointed the banana shoot toward her and the soul entered the shoot. The doctor carried the shoot with its heavy burden on his shoulder to Lomatchi. When he reached the village he stood the shoot on the ground and let it fall in the direction of the patient's house so that the soul could escape and enter the house. When the shoot became lighter in weight he knew the soul had left it. He went to the patient and gave her another dose of medicine (called *wai ni thavuyalo*). The patient felt better immediately and he knew her soul had re-entered her body. After a few weeks the girl recovered completely.

Certain types of illness such as strokes, paralysis, internal swellings, and prolonged pains are attributed to sorcery

[59] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 120. (ndraunikau).

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754 (*ndraunikau*). Sorcery is not so common in Lau as in some other parts of Fiji. The sorcerer secures some of his victim's "dirt"—a lock of hair or a piece of his *lavalava*—and places it in the pointed end of a young, empty coconut shell. The shell is buried in the ground with the pointed end toward the victim's house. The victim then sickens and often dies in a very short time.

754 757 278 The illness of Tchiope, an old man of Tokalau, was thought to have been caused by sorcery. Tchiope was suffering from paralysis of one side of the body. The doctor gave him medicine against sorcery (called *ravulevu*). It is taken twice a day before meals. The bark and green leaves of a tree, [824] called *ravulevu* (*Symplocos spicata*), are ground on a stone and wrapped in a small bag of white barkcloth. The bag is steeped and squeezed in cold water and the infusion is drunk. Bark shavings from the same tree, mixed with a little coconut oil, are then rubbed over the body. The patient, however, failed gradually and died.

753 According to informants the smell of a dead body (called *tangaloa*)[60] may cause three kinds of illness; leprosy, external sores with a bad smell, and internal sores. To protect the [764] mourners against this illness a corpse is usually buried within three hours of death.

As has been pointed out, illness in Lau may also be caused by the infraction of a tabu. Not all sickness, however, is attributed to superhuman agents. Normal labor pains and ailments like rheumatism, boils, and misplaced uterus are believed to be due to natural causes and are treated with natural rather than supernatural methods—by means of herbs internally and externally administered, by massage, manipulation and diet.

757 278 Boils are considered the most common sickness. Kama

[60] Informants know of no deity called *tangaloa* like that of neighboring parts of [171] Polynesia. I found no other meaning for the word.

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treats boils with a special medicine (called *lolotambakau*).[61] The treatment brings the boil to a head. When it breaks it is pressed and washed with fresh hot water and the medicine is applied again. Before and after treatment the doctor washes his hands in cold water, then rubs them with special crushed leaves (*thombona*) and washes them again. Boils are lanced with a shell which has been cleaned with a glowing brand. The shell is not sharpened and is discarded after the operation.

Formerly surgery was practiced more frequently than it is today. An inflated belly was cut open with a bamboo knife sharpened by breaking off the edge. No method of binding together the edges of the incision was known, but medicines were used to aid the healing process.[62]

To induce pregnancy, Wondo, a woman of Undu, puts scrapings of bark of the *siketh*i and *vauvau* (*Hibiscus*) into a medicine bag, soaks the bag in water and squeezes it. The potion is drunk by the patient twice a day. If after two months the woman fails to conceive the doctor takes her into the lagoon and makes a digital examination of the woman's vagina. If displacement of the uterus is indicated the doctor attempts to correct it by manipulation. The woman and her husband are then given medicine (called *wai ni luvea*) to drink. The recipe, made from the bark of a tree, is a secret handed down from mother to daughter.

The native Lauan theory of disease with its emphasis on superhuman causes and cures is directly opposed to that underlying modern medicine. There is probably medicinal value in some of the herbs used, but this problem has not been investigated. The measure of success which the witch doctor attains lies to a great extent in his influence on the mind of the patient. Moreover, the native system of medicine is deeply

[61] The leaves of the *uthi* (*Evodia hortensis*) tree, crushed between the palms of the hands, are placed in a bag made of oiled white barkcloth. This is taken to the patient and the leaves are removed from the bag and rubbed on the affected area.

[62] One of these was the fruit of the *siketh*i (*Aleurites moluccana*) tree. After the skin of the fruit had been removed it was roasted in the fire, cooled, and rubbed on the wound.

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753 rooted in the Lauan fundamental psychological set, for on matters dealing with the vital forces of the clan—life, sickness and death—the natives are naturally very slow to change. Hence the introduction of modern hygiene and medicinal measures is bound to be a painstaking and difficult process.

## 539 BIRTHS EXCEED DEATHS

*Oi lei nonggou turanga ko sa mbui ti au!*
*Sa lako e na sala ka senga ni lesu tale mai!*

Alas, my chief, alas!
He has gone along the path and will never return!

*Death chant for the chief of Fulanga.*

164 731 BEFORE the coming of the white man the Fiji islands, like other South Sea groups, had a limited variety of disease germs. Yaws, ankylostomiasis, leprosy, and elephantiasis were present, probably also tuberculosis. It is doubtful whether or not there was dysentery. Malaria, venereal disease, and infectious fevers such as measles, influenza, and whooping cough were absent. As in other parts of the Pacific new varieties of disease germs, brought by the white man, were fatal to the natives who had no resistance or immunity against them. The most disastrous epidemic recorded in Fiji was that of measles in 1875, one year after annexation of the islands by Great Britain. It is estimated that this epidemic wiped out one-third of the entire population of Fiji, and aged Lauans who survived it still tell how they helped to bury the dead of their villages. The people of Muanaithake, Fulanga, say that a row of skeletons on the beach some distance southeast of the village bears witness to this great tragedy, during which the living could not find time to bury the dead.

161 164 731 In 1881 the native population had fallen to 114,748, in 1891 to 105,800, and in 1905 to a low point just under 87,000, mainly because of dysentery, whooping cough and a second epidemic of measles. For the next six years the population remained

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*539 773 the stone was. Now, it was the custom always of the Tui Cicia to sit on this stone looking on when *mékés* were performed, or at the *Tiqa*[1] matches; and Tui Cicia was there this day. When the men of Butoni came on to the *rara*[2] in front of this stone they started their *méké*, a very fine one with *Dakai*[3] clubs, and about the middle of it, when the onlookers were crying out '*Vinaka, vinaka,*'[4] their leader gave a signal and they rushed on Tui Cicia and the chiefs who were sitting near him and clubbed them to death; and the place is called 'Na Wesi Dakai,' or 'the place of the club dance,' to this day.

"And no Tui Cicia was *buli'd* for a long time after this, as all feared to be called by that title, for it seemed of bad omen. But, at length, some one consulted the priest of Ratu Maibula, and he told them that it was not the title of 'Tui Cicia' that brought evil with it, but that Tui Cicia had been making use of the stone that had always been *tabu*[5] to Ratu Maibula. And after that the stone was set up on end and left there and none dared touch it again. And it is now known that if one touches that stone his hand withers and rots, and he will in course of time surely die."[6]

[753 778]

[1] Spear throwing.
[2] Village green.
[3] With special shaped heads not unlike the stock of a musket.
[4] Good, good.
[5] Sacred or forbidden to others.
[6] I was much interested in the remarks about the stone, as it occurred to me that this might be regarded by the natives as one of the stones alleged to cause leprosy, about which the Hon. Bolton Corney, I.S.O., late Chief Medical Officer of Fiji, has written a monograph.